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ABSTRACT

Adopting the viewpoint of the women students involved, this paper examines the first two decades of academic journalism (1908-1930). Pointing out that women students were a sizeable element in journalism schools from their beginning in 1908, the paper calls attention to the fact that women and men students were prepared for quite different lives, with men trained to be influential reporters and editors and women to be society reporters or women's page editors, or to work only briefly in the field before marriage. The paper discusses the key question of the degree to which journalism education reinforced social stereotypes regarding the role of women or broadened oppportunities for them. It then suggests that the aspirations of women often were raised by their education, but their ability to make use of it was curtailed by prejudice against them, both within schools of journalism and in the employment market. The paper poses a final question: Are women students today, who constitute nearly two-thirds of all journalism students, also unable to make full use of their education because of social pressures restricting women's full participation in the field? (HOD)

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Women in Journalism Education: The Formative Period, 1908-1930

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Maurine Beasley

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

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Submitted to the Status of Women Committee Research Paper Competition, AEJMC convention at Memphis State University, August 1985. Note: This research was done under a grant provided by the Gannett Foundation.

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Abstract

This paper looks at the first two decades of academic journalism education from the standpoint of women students. It concludes the aspirations of women were raised by their education, but their ability to make use of it was curtailed by prejudice, both within colleges of journalism and in the employment market. It asks whether women students today are also unable to make full use of their education because of sexism.

Abstract

This paper tries to break new ground by looking at the first two decades of academic journalism education from the viewpoint of the women students involved. Pointing out that women students were a sizeable element in journalism schools from their beginning in 1908, it calls attention to the fact that women and men students were prepared for quite different lives. The men were trained to be influential reporters and editors, the women to be society reporters, women's page editors or simply work briefly in the field before marriage. A key question discussed is to what degree journalism education reinforced social stereotypes regarding the role of women or broadened opportunities for them.

The conclusion: The aspirations of women often were raised by their education, but their ability to make use of it was curtailed by prejudice against them, both within schools of journalism and in the employment market. The paper poses a final question: Are women students today, who constitute nearly two-thirds of all journalism students, also unable to make full use of their education because of social pressures restricting women's full participation in the field? In that case journalism educators should become advocates for women in general.

Women in Journalism Education: The Formative Period,

1908-1930

At its beginnings a century ago, journalism education was an inhospitable, if not actually hostile, field for women. Yet in spite of prejudice in hiring and widespread fears that they would lose their femininity by emaluating male journalists, women were undeterred from enrolling in journalism schools. Over the years so many have flocked to colleges offering journalism training that by 1977 the percentage of women students enrolled in journalism nationally had surpassed that of men students. Since then the percentage of women has continued to increase, giving rise to concern that the field is becoming "feminized," and may become a "pink collar" ghetto comparable to nursing.[1]

To date almost no attempt has been made to study the historical factors that have resulted in this trend. Why have journalism schools drawn women students even though these students have had more difficulty than their male counterparts in moving into the job market? What social and cultural factors have operated within these schools themselves to address women students? To what degree has journalism education reinforced social stereotypes regarding a restricted role for women and to what degree has it broadened women's role? And, most important of all, what can be learned from an historical examination of women's participation in journalism education that will enhance understanding of the present enrollment patterns?

This goal of this report, through use of traditional historical research, is to increase understanding of the current gender shift by tracing the experience of women within journalism education during its formative period. The following research questions have been asked: (1) Did early journalism education offer women the same kind of preparation offered men? (2) Were women

graduates prepared to compete with men in the job market? (3) What factors led women to study at the first journalism schools? To investigate these questions the author has made use of general histories of journalism education, memoirs and biographies of pioneer journalism graduates and educators, manuscript collections and publications pertaining to the first journalism schools, early textbooks, and files of The Matrix, formerly the official publication of Women in Communications, which began as Theta Sigma Phi, a sorority for journalism students. These materials have been selected to provide an overview of the type of experiences afforded the first women graduates.

When academic training in journalism first was proposed in the post-Civil War era, all references were to instruction for "young men." General Robert E. Lee is credited with having planned the first course of instruction in journalism at the college level. As president of the all-male Washington College (now Washington and Lee University), he proposed in 1869 that scholarships be established to allow students to prepare for newspaper careers by receiving instruction in printing at a commercial shop. In line with his idea, Kansas State College (now University) initiated a course in printing for journalists in 1873, although the scholarships advocated by Lee were never awarded. In 1878, however, the University of Missouri began formal collegiate teaching of journalism by offering a course in the history of journalism in the English department.[2]

But it was a woman, Martha Louise Rayne, a figure usually omitted from the history of journalism, who deserves the credit for establishing the first actual school of journalism in the world. In 1886 she set up a private school in Detroit to give practical journalistic training to women. Rayne, a novelist and journalist who had written for the Chicago Tribune and the Detroit Free Press, proposed her school in the Free Press in 1885. Male journalists immediately scoffed. "The wicked American journalist, without exception, made fun of

the proposal," one Free Press article stated. When she proceeded to open her school, another Detroit paper noted, "Many newspaper pooh-pooh the idea, but Mrs. Rayne is a thorough journalist, and may do the laughing herself later."[3]

The school, apparently called simply Mrs. Rayne's School of Journalism, continued until about 1900. Although it was not a formal academic institution, its course of study somewhat paralled that given subsequently in colleges. A handbill advertising the school listed the course of study: "Preparation of manuscript, Words and how to use them. The art of saying things. Literary style. The art of taking pains. Reporting, essay writing, reviews, sketches, short stories, forms of poetry, novel-writing, etc." Creative writing was stressed in part because newspapers of the era published much literary content.[4]

Mrs. Rayne saw the potential for training women because at the end of the nineteenth century a small but growing number of women were beginning to seek careers in journalism. In 1872, Frederic Hudson of the New York Herald, commented on this trend: "There are now quite a number of female managers and publishers of newspapers in the United States. They do not push themselves forward or make themselves very conspicuous in their profession. They are not propagandists; they are simply getting a living, and making what money they can without ostentation." To Hudson, as it would be to many later commentators, the question of proper behavior for women in newspaper offices would be of paramount interest. Men were expected to be aggressive. Women were not.[5]

A year before opening her school, Mrs. Rayne had counseled women in a popular book of advice titled What Can a Woman Do; Or Her Position in the Business and Literary World. One chapter explained local newspapers were willing to pay for "pleasant, readable sketches" and that some papers even had women reporters. In this category were listed Mrs. Sallie Van Pelt, a baseball reporter in Iowa,

and a Mrs. Fitzgerald, a night police reporter for the Chicago Inter-Ocean, although Mrs. Rayne pointed out most women reporters covered meetings, weddings and social events.[6]

Her observations of women journalists were borne out by official statistics. In 1870, the first year the U.S. census contained a category of persons who described themselves as journalists, only 35 women so listed themselves, less than 0.6 per cent of the total. By 1880 the number of women had increased to 288 out of a total of 12,308, or 2 per cent of the total. Ten years later it had climbed again to 888, out of a total of 21,849, or 4 per cent.[7]

Included in the statistics were a few notable women like Elizabeth Cochrane, who, as "Nellie Bly," attained fame by stunts such as feigning madness to investigate a mental hospital and racing around the world. But these figures in general reflected the women drawn into newspaper work by the addition of material aimed at women readers and shoppers. This included wedding and society notes, women's columns, and advice on fashion, housekeeping and cooking. The census figures, which presumably included only those with full-time paid positions, did not include an untold number of others who sold free-lance contributions, including poetry and stories, aimed at women readers.[8]

Consequently journalism represented a new occupational area for American women in the Victorian era. One of the first to recognize its potential was Jane Cunningham Croly, who, as "Jennie June," pioneered the first syndicated women's column in the New York Dispatch in 1859. After women were barred from attending a banquet for Charles Dickens sponsored by the New York press corps, Mrs. Croly was determined to improve their status. She organized Sorosis, the nation's oldest women's club, in 1868. Subsequently she helped form the General Federation of Women's Clubs as well as the Women's Press Club of New York of which she was president for life.[9]

Mrs. Croly also became the first known woman to teach journalism at the college level. In 1896 she was employed to teach a journalism course at the New Rutgers Institute for Young Ladies. This was a private school in New York, previously known as the Rutgers Female College. (It had no connection with Rutgers University at New Brunswick, New Jersey.)[10]

Women, nevertheless, were not considered as prospective journalism students when proposals to establish journalism courses in academic institutions sparked a controversy in the newspaper industry that continued for years. Distinguished journalists, all male, argued pro and con on the advisability of college instruction for men journalists, overlooking the possibility of women students. Joseph Pulitzer of The New York World, who eventually endowed the school of journalism at Columbia University, argued in favor: "I see no reason why a chair in journalism, filled by a man of real talent and character, could not be made beneficial." On the opposite side, J. C. Goldsmith of Frank Leslie's Illustrated, contended the apprentice-system, which he called the school of "hard knocks," was most likely to produce capable editors: "Give the boy a good academical education, not omitting Latin and the modern languages, put him to writing wrappers on a large daily journal, and let him work up to the city department."[11]

In spite of a preponderance of opposition from the profession, however, by the turn of the century it was plain that academic journalism education would be a reality. The Wharton School of Business at the University of Pennsylvania listed a series of five courses in journalism in its 1893-94 catalog, and at least seven other universities, mainly in the Middle West, established instruction in journalism before 1900. The list included the University of Kansas, Denver University, the State University of Iowa, Indiana University, the University of Michigan, the University of Nebraska and Temple University.

The first recognized school of journalism was opened at the University of Missouri in Columbia, Missouri, in 1908. Not surprisingly, it admitted women, since the university itself had accepted women for three decades, after having graduated its first two in the liberal arts in 1876. Both of these women, Ella Dimmitt and Ida Minter, soon were married and did not pursue careers, like many of the first waves of women to be graduated from state universities. In general these pioneers in co-education did not work outside the home after marriage, although they frequently exercised community leadership. This was a phenomenon soon to also become apparent among women journalism graduates.[12]

Missouri's two-years curriculum was patterned after one suggested by Dr. Charles W. Eliot, president of Harvard University, in response to a question by Pulitzer. The Missouri dean, Walter Williams, spelled out the purpose of the school in its first bulletin: To supply "well-equipped men for leadership in journalism, with high ideals and special training." Women were not mentioned.[13] Strongly endorsed by the Missouri Press Association, the curriculum of the new school aimed to prepare graduates mainly for newspaper work. Most of the course titles made this evident: History and Principles of Journalism, Newspaper Making, Newspaper Administration, Magazine and Class Journalism (a reference to early trade publications), Newspaper Publishing, Newspaper Jurisprudence, News-Gathering, Correspondence (which covered the handling of personal items sent to small papers by amateur writers), and Office Equipment.

A total of 97 students, 84 men and 13 women, enrolled in the school during its first year, although only a fraction sought to graduate in the new discipline. Six women registered for journalism classes in the first semester. Later they were hailed as "coming society editors," in the official history of the school. The first class was graduated in 1910, when five men and one woman, Mary Paxton (later Keeley), who was elected class secretary, received bachelors'

degrees in journalism. Keeley taught for years at Christian College (now Missouri Central), a women's school in Columbia, Missouri. Prior to her enrollment at the university, she had worked for two years on the Kansas City Post, which made her one of the first women to work on a newspaper in Kansas City.[14]

But, if rare on the metropolitan scene, women were no strangers to journalism in rural Missouri (or in other states). The same year the University of Missouri opened its journalism school, the Missouri Press Association elected its first woman officer, Mrs. Lily Herald Frost of the Vandalia Leader, who became third vice-president. It is likely she was the wife of a newspaper editor and assisted her husband in his business, according to common practice.[15]

In previous years editors' wives had addressed press association conventions on the joys of combining domestic responsibilities with acting as their husbands' assistants. As Mrs. R. M. White, whose husband published the Mexico (Missouri) Ledger, put it in a paper read in 1891 to the Northeast Missouri Press Association, the editor's wife, because of her position in the community, "has the same opportunity to lead that are (sic) offered to her liege lord." She proceeded to explain, "the editor's wife may have to take care of children, do her house work, cut the wood brought in by delinquent subscribers....even get up on cold mornings and make fires, as I do. But, nevertheless, wife being the noblest sphere of women, it's better to be an editor's wife than nobody's wife at all."[16]

Dean Williams made special efforts to invite women, often those from country papers, to address students during annual Journalism week ceremonies that honored outstanding editors and prepared graduates for the current job market. Sometimes the advice to young women was simply to work at their husbands' side. Mrs. Florence R. Boys, woman's page editor of the Plymouth (Indiana) Pilot and publisher of a syndicated woman's page, spoke plainly at

an early Journalism week. "My woman's page was begun for my husband's paper. Finding that it was copied by other papers over the state, it occurred to us that it would be a good scheme to make of it a (syndicated) service." However, she continued, the venture was not very profitable: "It would probably be difficult, if not impossible, for a woman to make a good living on it alone. It is a good sideline for the wife or daughter of an editor." Such advice made it obvious women graduates were expected to fill roles different from, and subordinate to, those of men within the journalistic field.[17]

At the same time the University of Missouri set up a separate journalism school, other universities developed departments of journalism. By 1910 departments were organized at the state Universities of Wisconsin and Washington, New York University, a private school, and Marquette University, a Catholic institution. Classes in journalism also were being offered at other state universities: Ohio, Nebraska, Cornell, Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Kansas State, Pennsylvania, North Dakota, Oklahoma and Colorado. In addition, two private schools announced journalism instruction, Depauw University, Greencastle, Indiana, and Bessie Tift College, a women's school at Forsyth, Georgia, (although apparently Tift did not actually offer classes before 1923).[18]

Within journalism education men and women students soon organized into different social worlds. In 1909 ten male students at Depauw University founded Sigma Delta Chi, an honorary fraternity restricted to "upperclassmen who expected to make journalism their work," according to the organization's official history. The constitution specified chapters could be established only in colleges where a newspaper was published and "attention was given to journalistic instruction." By 1912 when the fraternity held its first national convention at Greencastle, it had established chapters at ten universities. Although Depauw was a co-educational school, no consideration was given to admitting women to the fraternity.[19]

At the University of Washington in Seattle, the establishment of a Sigma Delta Chi chapter led a group of seven women to form their own journalism sorority called Theta Sigma Phi, complete with secret motto, badge and ritual similar to those of the male fraternity. "In our relations with the masculine majority there existed a fine spirit of bon camaraderie not unmixed with rivalry," Helen Ross Lantz, one of the founders, recalled years later. "So when the lads on the Daily newspaper staff had tantalized us for weeks with some sophmoric secret, we impulsively retaliated one day by appearing wearing pledge ribbons of a significance so mysterious as to baffle even ourselves.... From such a frivolous beginning grew spontaneously the idea of a permanent, worthwhile organization."[20]

Concerned with upholding the conventional image of womanhood within an occupation dominated by hard-boiled men, the women tried to emphasize their purity. "We had a lot of quaint ideas in those days," Lantz wrote. "Venturing into the newspaper world, dominated by the rougher sex, would very likely have a coarsening effect upon our manners to say nothing of our morals, so we chose for our flower the violet, 'symbol of womanly modesty.'"[21]

The idea of an separate journalism sorority was greeted enthusiastically by some male journalism educators. Willard G. Bleyer, dean of the department of journalism of the University of Wisconsin, telegraphed the University of Washington for a charter for coeds at his school. Merle Thorpe, organizer of the Washington journalism department and later editor of The Nation's Business, endorsed the idea of the organization. Somewhat unique among founders of journalism programs, Thorpe specifically mentioned women in an early Washington catalogue, referring to "men and women intending to enter newspaper work as a profession." He encouraged Lanz, the only one of the seven to own a typewriter, who exhausted herself "pecking out laborious and messy looking copies

of the Constitution, By-Laws and Ritual for some incipient chapter." By 1915 there were chapters at eight universities: Washington, Wisconsin, Missouri, Indiana, Kansas, Oklahoma, Oregon and Ohio State.[22]

A comparison of the subsequent lives of the founders of the two organizations shows the diversity in the careers of early men and women journalism graduates. Of the ten men who founded Sigma Delta Chi, all except two initially went into newspaper work. One, Eugene C. Pulliam, formed his own publishing company and eventually acquired the Indianapolis Star and the Phoenix [Arizona] Republic. Of the remaining two, one became a teacher and the other a lawyer.[23]

The seven women Theta Sigma Phi founders, six of whom married, moved into more diverse paths than the men. Olive Mauerman Smith became a teacher and writer. Rachel Marshall married a Polish nobleman, who agreed to be called Mr. Marshall, and was a Hollywood script writer. Helen Graves Wakefield went into San Fransisco real estate. Irene Somerville Durham became a captain of woman police officers and chief of the crime prevention bureau in the Seattle police department. Georgina MacDougall Davis combined raising a family, writing and dedicating herself to Theta Sigma Phi activities. Blanche Brace, who remained single, distinguished herself with the New York Herald Tribune and was a publicist and short story writer. Lantz, the first national president, later noted her own "writing career lasted only a few years," during which time she acted as club editor of the Seattle Times and a special writer for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer. Unlike the men, as a group the women did not find jobs within the field for which they had prepared.[24]

Journalism education received an enormous boost in prestige in 1912 when the Pulitzer School of Journalism finally opened at Columbia University. It was established after nearly a decade of contention between Columbia officials and Joseph Pulitzer, who originally had agreed to give a $2 million endowment for

the school in 1903. One disagreement was over the qualifications of students. The university insisted students should have preliminary college training, but Pulitzer did not want to bar individuals who lacked academic preparation but were otherwise suitable. The school consequently was open to men and women of good moral character who had graduated from high school and passed an entrance examination. It began on a four-year basis but those entering with a bachelor's degree could complete their coursework in a fifth year, a significant point since the school eventually limited itself to a fifth-year professional program.[25]

Women were grudgingly accepted. Speaking in 1949, Carl W. Ackerman, a member of the first graduating class and later dean at Columbia, commented that "in early days of this school there was opposition to the admission of women students." Referring to the "strong prejudices of college professors," Ackerman told of a professor asked for advice on admitting women: "...his classic reply was that no teacher could teach mathematics to a boy if there was a girl in the room and that if a boy could learn mathematics with a girl in the room he would never grow up to be a man."[26]

Columbia did not follow the Missouri plan of teaching newspaper business operations since Pulitzer himself objected to exposing journalism students to business training, holding editorial and advertising functions should be totally divorced. But like Missouri, which operated its own community newspaper, Columbia stressed practical experience, providing fourth-year students with a simulated city-room for the acquisition of reporting, interviewing, and editing skills. A somewhat different approach to journalism education was taken by Bleyer at Wisconsin. His students took fewer courses in journalism than in the social sciences and had no laboratory newspaper, although they were encouraged to work on the university's daily. Bleyer was credited with being the father of the social science, as opposed to the techniques, approach to teaching journalism.

Neither plan led to wide opportunities for women students. Formal education in journalism evolved at a time when numerous occupational fields were developing into professions. These included business and public management, accounting, engineering, and civil service. They aimed through academic programs to provide trained management for the giant institutions, including metropolitan newspapers, that marked America's transformation from an agricultural to an industrial society. Women as a group were excluded from serious consideration as managers in all of these areas including journalism.

Yet journalism instruction was available to the women who wanted it. From 1910 to 1920, journalism courses were started in 74 institutions, almost all of which admitted women. Showing the growing interest in the field, the American Association of Teachers of Journalism, initially an all-male group, was started in 1912 and the American Association of Schools and Department of Journalism five years later. Both were forerunners of the present Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication. By 1920 at least a few journalism classes were offered at 131 colleges, 10 of which, mainly co-educational state universities, offered intensive professional programs.[27]

To a degree World War I gave opportunities to women when newspapermen left their desks for the battlefields. The wartime experiences of Frances Stone Burns, a journalism graduate of the University of Washington, were typical. Mrs. Burns, the first editor of The Matrix, started in 1915 as the official publication of Theta Sigma Phi, recalled the impact of the war years later: "From 1915 until the beginning of 1920 I worked on Tacoma, Wash., papers, the News and Ledger, and, because of my training, did courts and special assignments, work that men would have done if there had not been a war on." She was married to Alfred Burns before he was sent overseas in 1917 and "worked through his return in late summer of 1919," she continued. "Then in 1920 we came to Boston

to live and I put newspaper work, as I thought, behind me forever. We had two sons, Alfred and Dugald..." To her surprise, however, during World War II, when another wartime shortage of men journalists existed, she was able to resume a newspaper career as a part-time food writer for the Boston Globe.[28]

Another early journalism school graduate who benefitted from expanded opportunities for women due to World War I was Minna Lewinson, one of 11 women and eight men to be graduated from Columbia University journalism school in 1918. The preponderance of women was due to men having left the university to go to war. Lewison became the first woman to be hired by the Wall Street Journal, where she worked from a few days following her graduation until June 1923.[29]

According to a Columbia classmate, Liliane Refregier Davison, Lewinson was hired because the war had drawn off male reporters. Certainly she had an exceptional record. Along with another student, Henry Beetle Hough, Lewinson was awarded a Pulitzer prize in 1918 for a paper written on the wartime services of the American press. It was an unusual honor never to be given again, classified as a "newspaper history award." It gave Lewinson the distinction of being the first women to win a Pulitzer prize.[30]

From 1920 to 1930 journalism programs continued to expand, being added in 175 schools. Women constituted a sizeable element of students. By 1928, for example, the University of Missouri had awarded 916 bachelor's degrees in journalism during its 20-year history, with 564 going to men and 352 going to women.[31]

On a national level the number of women employed in reporting and editing jobs doubled in the 1920s, according to census figures. They showed nearly 12,000 women, or 24 per cent of the total in the reporting and editing category, an increase of 7.2 per cent from 1920 to 1930. Many of these women worked for

women's pages or women's magazines or in other areas considered appropriate for their sex. Even though women had been given the right to vote in 1920, the number of women who covered straight news or politics on newspapers remained small.[32]

Occasionally women made it to general assignment status if they were willing to be "sob sisters." This was the term given female writers who wrote lurid, adjective-laden stories that exploited womens's presumed predisposition to emotional outbursts. A male graduate of the Columbia journalism school remembered fifty years later how amazed members of his class had been when one of their number, Frances Fink, landed a job as a "sob sister" with a tabloid, the New York Graphics, in 1930.[33]

"Sob sisters wrote lurid stories about the sex intrigues of the famous and the infamous...The stories had sad endings - the wages of sin - so the reporters of these tear-jerkers were called sob sisters. The school's curriculum was not precisely geared to the training of sob sisters," Harry Winston commented ironically. "Reporting [to the professors] consisted of interviewing newsmakers rather than peering through windows from fire escapes." He remembered, nevertheless, that other students envied Fink the chance to write a "juicy saga."[34]

But for most women students the path ahead was clearly limited - leading to the women's pages or other special writing aimed at women readers. Women were not given the same choice of assignments in journalism schools as men, or if they were, they were not seen as performing the assignments on a par with male students. This point was borne out by a collection of assignments published by the University of Missouri in 1927. Of 16 editorials included, only one written by a woman appeared (and that was titled "Religion"). Of 14 news stories published in the collection, only two were written by women, and one of those had a society aspect ("Renew Betrohal After 35 years") and the other a

feature angle ("300 Students Go for Hike"). But of 28 feature stories in the group, nine were written by women and of five examples of fiction and special articles, three were done by women.[35]

The collection itself was edited by Sarah Lockwood Williams, one of the first woman to teach journalism in a professional school. After receiving her bachelor's degree in journalism from the University of Missouri in 1913, she had worked for newspapers in St. Joseph, Missouri, Tulsa and Philadelphia before returning to the University of Missouri as an assistant professor in 1921. She resigned from her position after her marriage to Dean Walter Williams in 1927, although she came back to the faculty after his death.[36]

Other women teachers in journalism schools during the 1920s included Helen Patterson at the University of Wisconsin, Helen Hostetter at Kansas State, and Frances Grinstead, who followed Lockwood at the University of Missouri. These women had experienced sex discrimination in their own careers, and they endeavored to teach their women students how to meet it. One solution seemed promising: Home economics journalism which would translate into writing articles for women's pages and magazines.

A leading exponent was Patterson, the first woman member of the American Teachers of Journalism, who taught journalism at the University of Wisconsin from 1923 to 1957. A graduate of the University of Kansas, she had experienced the customary discrimination against women journalists. She also had to overcome the skepticism shown by editors toward all journalism graduates.

"In the days when I was right out of college, we were warned not to tell we were journalism school graduates when job-hunting or we wouldn't get hired," Patterson told a reporter who interviewed her in 1961. After she was promoted from reporter to city editor of a Kansas daily, the publisher of the paper informed her, "If I'd had known you were from a journalism school, I'd never have hired you."[37]

But she filled that job and went on to other "firsts" in Kansas - first women wire editor, first woman critic, first woman copy editor. In college she had been the first woman editor of the campus newspaper. "I changed jobs a lot and kept moving around," she said, "because in those day women in journalism were so looked down upon that in order to get a raise, you had to find a better job."[38]

At Wisconsin Patterson began a course called "Writing For Homemakers" and encouraged both journalism and home economics students to take it. "Speaking for myself," she told the reporter, "I have little interest in cooking and such, but I recognize the enormous market for articles on the home and think it offers a wide opportunity for women writers." As a specialist on the writing of feature articles and public relations for organizations, Patterson lectured all over the United States. She was an associate professor of journalism when she retired following her marriage to Grant M. Hyde, director of the journalism program at Wisconsin.[39]

Hosteller, who began her career as a high school English teacher, was inspired to obtain a journalism degree from Northwestern University after she was assigned a high school journalism class and discovered she loved journalism. Her first reporting job was on a newspaper in Sioux City, Iowa, where she was society editor, although she originally had vowed that she would "take in back stairs to scrub," before she would write society news. Next she worked at Mount Union College in Ohio, combining college public relations and the teaching of journalism.[40]

In 1926, she started teaching at Kansas State, where she developed a course, "Journalism for Women," to prepare women to write for women's pages. Soon it included "Home Page" training during which students prepared model women's pages for local newspapers. In 1941 she became editor of the Journal

of Home Economics, but she returned to Kansas State in 1946 as the first woman in journalism education to hold a full professorship. Yet her salary, $3,600 annually, was lower than that paid male professors.[41]

Grinstead, too, experienced discrimination in both her professional and academic careers. She received a bachelor's degree in 1921 and a master's degree in 1928 from the University of Missouri. Before joining the Missouri faculty, she was city editor of the Mexico [Missouri] Intelligencer and woman's editor of the Spartanburg [South Carolina] Journal. It soon became clear to her "that Red Cross news, music criticism, school news and other 'non-women news' I had been doing on top of a full day's work as women's feature editor gave me opportunity to do the general writing but not to get recognition for it," she remembered years later. When an opening came up in the city room, a man was hired even though she had been promised the job.[42]

She eventually retired in 1967 after 35 years of teaching at the university level, first at the University of Missouri and then at the University of Kansas. Yet she was never made a full professor, although she gained acclaim for the teaching of feature and magazine writing and published numerous articles and a novel. "In all modesty," she once commented, "I cannot accept this fact as a fair assessment of performance," but she was proud to have been a woman journalism faculty member at a time when these were rare.[43]

The problems facing women were outlined in detail in two early textbooks aimed at women journalism students. In 1926 Genevieve Jackson Boughner, former instructor in journalism at the University of Wisconsin and the University of Minnesota, wrote Women in Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women's Work For Newspapers and Magazines. A year later appeared Writing and Editing for Women: A Bird's Eye View of the Widening Opportunities for Women in Newspaper, Magazine & Other Writing Work, by

Ethel M. Colson Brazelton, lecturer on departmental work in journalism for women at the Medill School of Journalism at Northwestern University.

Both authors sought to tell women just how to establish themselves in spite of male bias. Boughner noted she had given at the University of Wisconsin the first course in "Features of Interest to Women in Magazine and Newspapers" ever offered in a journalism school. She urged women to "capitalize their tastes and instincts rather than oppose them, as they are called upon to do in many lines of newspaper writing in which they duplicate men's work." She declared the labor market demanded it:

> ...the increasing number of men and women taking courses in journalism, the constantly diminishing number of newspapers, and the difficulty experienced by heads of schools of journalism in finding work for women graduates, point unmistakable to the desirability of specialization on the part of the woman beginner in some branch of magazine or newspaper work, that demands the distinctly feminine background and experience."[44]

Both Boughner and Brazelton were quite precise on what these areas should be: Society, club news, homemaking, women's pages, including beauty and fashion news, children's activities and stories, shopping advice, feature stories, and advice on personal problems. Boughner also suggested writing news about women in politics and women in sports, while Brazelton mentioned the new fields of motion picture criticism, house organs, trade papers and commercial publicity and advertising. But she urged women to avoid direct competition with men, even though this would mean limitation in their subject matter.

"'The woman's angle' - or attitude, or viewpoint - is necessary to the proper reflection of those human beings who, quite aside from any questions of choice or possible preference, have been born feminine," she advised dryly. "The fact of sex, the 'woman's angle' is the woman writer's tool, but it must never be her weapon." The line between a tool and a weapon, however, was a fine one, it seemed, as Brazelton went on to counsel women on clothing and

deportment essential for success. She quoted a male editor who insisted, "30 per cent of the newspaper woman's success, especially as a reporter" depended on making a good impression by dress and social skills.[45]

According to Brazelton, it was impossible to obtain exact statistics on the number of women in journalism "because of the amazing rapidity with which young women slip in and out of such jobs." She estimated the number between 20,000 and 25,000 of whom 2,106 were "busily engaged in the study of American journalism." She noted women were sometimes paid as little as one-third less than men doing the same work and cited reasons in defense of this discrimination, including "continual turn-over due to feminine restlessness." That the low pay itself might have led to the "restlessness" was not pointed out.[46]

In fact, she counseled women who wanted to be journalists that they must be prepared for heroic sacrifices. "If you desire to write more than you do to fall in love, get married, become rich and distinguished, or realize any other delightful prospects that you can imagine, don't rest until the coveted job is yours," she exhorted. For those who were not prepared to renounce love, fame or fortune, apparently there was little hope of employment.[47]

Male journalism instructors also offered negative advice. In a textbook of the 1930s women were told they were biologically unsuited for reporting: "The general tempo - with the deadline-fighting element always present - is such to bar many women because of nervous temperament." Further, the authors, a city editor and a journalism professor, stated, "Most women are incapable of covering police and court news."[48]

Yet in spite of discouragement, women continued to enroll in schools of journalism. Why? To answer the question, one has to look at the alternatives available. Aside from teaching and nursing, both of which paid relatively poorly, the professions in general were not hospitable to women in this period.

Although the 1930 census showed nearly 11 million working women, many of them held low-skilled jobs with three of every ten employed as domestic servants. In the professional field, three-quarters were either teachers or nurses. The total number of workers represented only 24.3 per cent of the women in the country, so obviously the majority of women remained at home.[49]

Therefore, journalism represented one of the few relatively interesting career fields available for women. Because of its heavy concentration on the liberal arts, journalism education offered an extension of English and other liberal arts programs, attractive to many women who attended college but did not wish to teach. Due to rapid turn-over in the job market, journalism was an occupation women could pursue for a few years prior to marriage, in spite of discrimination and low salaries.

Journalism education provided a credential for women who, far more than men, were barred from the alternative route of on-the-job training. Men were hired as copy boys and moved up; women were not. In addition, journalism schools produced some women who stood out as a role model for others. One was Genevieve Forbes Herrick, a graduate of Northwestern University and the top woman reporter for the Chicago Tribune. Herrick was repeatedly referred to in the Brazelton book. As one of the assignments given, students were asked to write an essay stating in 500 words what a comment by Herrick meant to them. The comment: "The good woman reporter must have a woman's view-point and a man's pen-point." She seemed to be saying journalism provided women a way to keep their femininity while still mastering a skill monopolized by men.[50]

In conclusion, this paper suggests journalism education conveyed a different message to women students than to men. On the surface, it might appear that men and women received the same education since they sat side-by-side in the same classrooms. An observer did not have to be keen, however, to determine

that the two sexes were not treated equally. Women faced a set of expectations and barriers not presented to men.

Today it is obvious women are no longer subjected to the same type of discrimination. But, since the past is prologue, it seems important to take a detailed look at the current status of women students within journalism schools. Are they still being given different career advice than male students? Are their career aspirations being shaped by those who believe a woman, unlike a man, has to choose between professional and personal fulfillment? Are a sufficient number of positive role models being provided women students in terms of women faculty and professional journalists with whom they can establish rapport? Are textbooks presenting the same message to women as to men? All of these questions must be answered if journalism education is to successfully provide for its new majority.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Paul V. Peterson, "Enrollment Surges Again, Increases 7 Per Cent to 70,601," Journalism Educator (Jan. 1979), p. 3; see also "The Wage Gap: Myths and Facts," Published by National Committee on Pay Equity, 1201 16th St. N.W., Washington, D.C., 20036.

[2]De Forest O'Dell, The History of Journalism Education in the United States (New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1935), pp. 16-45; Albert A Sutton, Education for Journalism in the United States From Its Beginning to 1940 (Evanston, Ill: Northwestern University, 1945), pp. 7-10.

[3]"The School of Journalism," Detroit Free Press, April 21, 1887, p. 17, and "The City," Detroit Tribune, July 17, 1886, p. 4, as quoted in James S. Bradshaw, "Mrs. Rayne's School of Journalism," Journalism Quarterly 60 (Fall 1983), pp. 513-517.

[4]Undated handbill, Lucy A. Leggett papers, Burston Historical Collections, Detroit, as quoted in Bradshaw, p. 517.

[5]Frederic Hudson, Journalism in America (New York: Harper, 1873), p. 499.

[6]M. S. Rayne, What Can a Woman Do: Or Her Position in the Business and Literary World, (Detroit: F.B. Dickerson Co., 1886), as quoted in Bradshaw, pp. 515-16.

[7]U.S. Census Office, Compendium of the Eleventh Census (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Print Office, 1897), Part III, p. 516, as quoted in Bradshaw, p. 513.

[8]Marion Marzolf, Up From the Footnote: A History of Women Journalists (New York: Hastings House, 1977), pp. 20-21.

[9]Henry Ladd Smith, "The Beauteous Jennie June: Pioneer Woman Journalist," Journalism Quarterly 40 (Spring 1963), pp. 160-174.

[10]Ibid., pp. 173-74.

[11]Joseph Pulitzer and J. C. Goldsmith, as quoted in Sutton, Education for Journalism in the United States From Its Beginning to 1940, pp. 108-9.

[12]Luella H. Goodson, "A Co-ed of the '70s Recalls Missouri University Life," undated clipping, Kansas City Star, in Ida Aldrich Minter scrapbook in possession of the author of this report. The author is the granddaughter of Ella Dimmit Hoffman, who also wrote in the scrapbook of her experiences at the University of Missouri and of her marriage to a man, Louis Hoffman, whom she had defeated in an essay contest. See also, Janet Wilson James, "Introduction," Notable American Women, A Biographical Dictionary (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1971), p. xxviii).

[13]Sara Lockwood Williams, Twenty Years of Education for Journalism (Columbia, Mo.: Stephens Publishing, 1929), pp. 53, 72.

[14]Ibid., pp. 452-53, 147. See also Ishbel Ross, Ladies of the Press (New York: Harper's 1936), p. 575.

[15]Sara Lockwood Williams, "The Editor's Rib," The Matrix 27 (Dec. 1941), p. 10.

[16]Williams, "The Editor's Rib," The Matrix 27 (Feb. 1942), p. 14.

[17]"Women and the Newspaper," (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Bulletin, Journalism Series No. 30, 1924), p. 13.

[18]Sutton, Education for Journalism in the United States From Its Beginning to 1940, p. 16; Janice Ruth Wood, "The Foundation Years of American Journalism Education, 1908-1930," unpublished master's thesis in journalism, University of South Carolina, 1981, pp. 23-24, 35.

[19]Charles C. Clayton, Fifty Years for Freedom 1908-1959: The Story of of Sigma Delta Chi's Service to American Journalism (Carbondale, Ill.: Southern Illinois University Press, 1959), pp. 9, 18, 226-27.

[20]Helen Ross Lantz, "Seven Sisters With Vision," The Matrix 29 (Aug. 1944), p. 5.

[21]Ibid.

[22]Ibid., pp. 1-156; Wood, "The Foundation Years of American Journalism Education," p. 45. See also Anne Hecker, "WICI Survives the Challenges of Time," Pro/Comm 4 (April 1984), pp. 2, 6.

[23]Clayton, Fifty Years for Freedom, pp. 100-101.

[24]Lantz, "Seven Sisters With Vision," pp. 6, 13; Ross, Ladies of the Press, p. 125.

[25]Wood, "The Foundation Years of American Journalism Education," p. 39.

[26]Text of speech, "The Inside of a Newspaper Should Be Like the Inside of the Home," given on June 6, 1949, Box 164, Carl W. Ackerman papers, Library of Congress.

[27]Sutton, Education for Journalism in the United States From Its Beginning to 1940, p. 17.

[28]As quoted in L.E.R. Kleinhenz, "'30' to Thirty Years," The Matrix 30 (Aug. 1945), p.9.

[29]Kathleen K. Keeshen, "Journalism's Pulitzer Penwomen," unpublished paper prepared as part of Ph.D. coursework in American studies at University of Maryland, Feb. 1978, p. 12.

[30]Ibid., pp. 10-16.

[31]Sutton, Education for Journalism in the United States From Its Begining to 1940, pp. 17-18; Williams, Twenty Years of Education For Journalism, p. 453.

[32]Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, pp. 51-52.

[33]"College Walk," Columbia 10 (Nov. 1984), p. 49.

[34]Ibid.

[35]Sarah Lockwood Williams, ed., "Written by Students in Journalism: Selected Articles Written by Students in the School of Journalism, University of Missouri as a Part of Their Class Work During 1926-27," (Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri Bulletin No. 26, 1927).

[36]Williams, Twenty Years of Education for Journalism, pp. 442-43.

[37]Judy Donovan, "Wisconsin Author Recalls Colorful Journalism Career," Tuscon (Ariz.) Star, Jan. 11, 1961.

[38]Ibid.

[39]Ibid. See also Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, pp. 252-253.

[40]Marzolf, Up From the Footnote, p. 254.

[41]Ibid., pp. 254-55.

[42]Ibid., pp. 255-56.

[43]Ibid., pp. 256-57.

[44]Genevieve Jackson Boughner, Women In Journalism: A Guide to the Opportunities and a Manual of the Technique of Women's Work for Newspapers and Magazines (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1926), p. viii.

[45]Ethel M. Colson Brazelton, Writing and Editing for Women: A Bird's Eye View of the Widening Opportunities for Women in Newspaper, Magazine & Other Writing Work," (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1927), pp. 3, 8, 190.

[46]Ibid., pp. 199, 208.

[47]Ibid., p. 208.

[48]Philip W. Porter and Norval N. Luxon, The Reporter and the News (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1935), p. 8.

[49]Susan Ware: Holding Their Own: American Women in the 1930s (Boston: Twayne, 1982) p. 24.

[50]Brazelton, Writing and Editing for Women, p. 10.